

## TRUSTS AND CORPORATIONS DISCUSSED

By Governor Atkinson at the  
Civic Federation at Chicago  
Wednesday Night.

### THE DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

Between Them—Corporations a  
Necessity But Trust Com-  
binations are Evil.

Following is the address delivered by Governor G. W. Atkinson on "Trusts and Corporations," at the National Conference of the Civic Federation, in session at Chicago, Wednesday night. The conservatism of the speech is commended to the intelligencer's readers:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:—This gathering, as I understand it, is to consider the relations of our citizens to one another as citizens, and to consider also the best methods to be used to protect the masses from the encroachments of combines and trusts; for it seems that this is a period favorable to the organization of such combines all over the civilized world.

I believe in progression. In this respect I am an evolutionist. I believe that the world ought to grow, and that men ought to grow with it. Some sorts of combines are, I think, economic necessities which grow out of our complex civilization as a nation. The great manufacturing establishments of the world, covering all branches of industry, had very small beginnings; and we, in a large measure, owe the progress we have made to men of means who combined or united into what we call "corporations," to make this advancement possible. But there is a vast difference between a corporation and a trust. It seems to me that every citizen, who possesses any sort of common sense, will favor corporations, because individual citizens, as a rule, cannot in and of themselves alone furnish sufficient capital to develop the resources of all the states of our republic.

It requires vast sums of money to handle great undertakings. One man alone cannot supply the necessary capital to build up great industries, which have for their object the development of a state or a nation; but several men of means, by combining, can raise the necessary amount of capital to accomplish the desired purpose. This necessity brought corporations into existence. What one man cannot do, for lack of means, several men can accomplish by combining the capital which each of them can command. In this way corporations are formed. In this manner railroads are constructed, mines are opened, mills and factories are built, industries are established, men are employed, and the natural resources of a country are developed, which necessarily employ labor, and thus bring wealth into a country. Hence I say that every citizen of a country who possesses ordinary common sense should be favorable to corporations. Nevertheless, we have in our midst thousands and tens of thousands of our people who seem to hate them, and fight them on every hand, notwithstanding the fact that they secure from such concerns reasonable compensation for their toil, and by means of which they obtain the necessary means with which they support their families and those dependent upon them.

**Corporations Necessary.**  
With this class of people, my fellow citizens, I have no sort of sympathy. I assert here to-day that a corporation properly conducted is entitled to as much sympathy, support and respect as an individual, because a corporation, in law, is an individual. I wish, therefore, to be written down, my countrymen, as a friend and backer of corporations, because no state can be developed without them, and there can be no growth and development, if they are inhibited by law, or are not properly supported by the people. Without corporations, to-day we would be without railroads, coal and coke operations, eliver and gold producers, banks and other acknowledged necessities for the public weal. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, when I hear men in politics and elsewhere whining the demagogic cry: "Down With Corporations," I am ready to join the crowd of enterprising people who will cry from the hustings and the house-tops: "Down With that Class of Malcontents and Demagogues."

I am not an optimist per se, nor am I a pessimist. I have no sympathy for any one who puts in his time whining against capital. We, unfortunately, have, however, too many of this class of croakers in our midst. What we need is more capital in legitimate business undertakings. We must have men everywhere who will invest their money in building up and opening up the industries of all our states. We have in West Virginia more coal and coke and oil and timber and gas than the United States can consume in hundreds of years. What we now need is capital to help us on in our work of

development. We are ready and willing to welcome to our domain men of enterprise and men of means from all sections of the Union, and from abroad as well, to come among us and aid us in developing the resources which a wise and beneficent Providence has bestowed upon us, which are open to all comers.

West Virginia, my friends, is the first oil and gas and timber state in the Union. She is second in coke and third in coal. She has more coal area than any other state, and it is only a matter of limited time for her to be first in coal and coke production, as she is now first in oil and gas and timber, because the coal and coke business is, after all, only a question of the survival of the fittest. With more veins of coal than any other state, and all, or mostly all, of a better quality than any of our competitors, especially for gas and steam and heat and coke, we are bound to hold our own, and in the end come out on top of any and all competitors. Hence, I again say, Mr. President, that West Virginians generally are friendly to corporations, and we will and do gladly welcome men of means to come among us, and thus help them and us not only to "keep the wolf from the door," but at the same time aid us to lay up a surplus for a "rainy day," which will sooner or later come to one and all. We welcome, therefore, capital and corporations, because they help us, as West Virginians, to build for both the present and the future.

**The Lie or Problem.**  
Now, I take it, Mr. President, that all present understand how I feel towards capitalists and towards corporations which always represent capital and capitalists. The next point to which I desire briefly to allude is the labor problem. I am now and always have been a staunch friend of the toiling masses. I stand for the working man, because he alone produces wealth. He takes the iron ore, the coal, the oil, the gas, the precious metals, the lead, the zinc, etc., out of the bowels of the earth, and by his skill transforms them from the natural to the finished product. In this way he produces wealth. In the same way he brings out of mother earth the necessary articles for the sustenance of mankind. He alone, therefore, is a wealth producer. Why, then, should he not have our honest, earnest support? I say unhesitatingly that he has my best wishes.

Labor and capital are inter-dependent. One cannot get on without the help of the other. The laboring men have the same right to organize for their advancement and protection as have the capitalists. The same privilege must be extended to one class as to the other. So long as the laboring man does his duty, and keeps within the limit of the law, he will have my sympathy and support. But I have never yet favored a strike or a lock-out so long as it was possible to prevent it by just and friendly arbitration; and I have never yet known, and I say it boldly, a strike or a lock-out, in all my experience and observation, that did not result in injury to both labor and capital. Therefore, Mr. President, I favor arbitration to settle all disputed problems between capital on the one hand and labor on the other.

**Labor Arbitration.**  
While I stand here as a representative of the common people, and insist that they should be properly treated, yet I confess that there are other trusts in this country than "money trusts." Laboring men have their organizations, as I have already stated they ought to have, and are entitled to have. But, somehow, however, a portion of these organizations have not properly taken into account the strife and loss of time to themselves and their employers occasioned by strikes which they have seen fit to bring upon themselves. There are, therefore, not only capital trusts, but there are some-times labor trusts also. I wish to place myself on record against both, and especially so when the demands of either or both are not in accord with the well established rules of political economy and common sense and common honesty between man and man, whether rich or poor, white or black. Laboring men have no more right to combine for the purpose of sustaining that which is unjust and unreasonable than capitalists. Hence, I wish to declare here and now that arbitration alone can properly adjust controversies of this sort, and the man who opposes this kind of adjustment is wholly out of joint with the spirit of the times in which he lives. Capital and labor should deal fairly with each other, and if they cannot at times agree, let the controversy be arbitrated by a just, unbiased and honorable tribunal. No conservative, honest man, in my judgment, can or will oppose such adjustment.

**Not a Party Question.**  
This brings us, Mr. President and gentlemen, to a brief consideration of "trusts," which is the main question before this Federation. In all of my public and private acts in the past my "muck" has always been pointed to-day trusts, and if I know myself to-day it is still pointing the same way. It seems that our country has, within the past few years, gone trust crazy. I cannot understand why, but it appears to be a fact. Nevertheless, the great fact, I may call it such, is not confined to this country alone. It is just now reaping a harvest everywhere and in all lands. Nor is it confined to any one political party. I find about as many Democrats in trusts in the United States as Republicans, and I find at least two of the mammoth trusts of this country are, in a sense, Democratic trusts. Therefore, I conclude, Mr. Chairman, that we cannot choke them out by drawing political lines upon them. They have grown up as the result of existing conditions, and they cannot be stamped out by any political party. The trusts simply revolve against them. To sweep the trust issue into politics and resolve one way or the other, as is the custom now-a-days in political conventions, it seems to me to be "wasting fragrance on the desert air."

We must come nearer home for a remedy than that. We must hit at its root by national and state legislation against making it a penal offense against good government for men of great wealth to combine for the sole purpose of stifling and choking middle men and small dealers, as trusts have generally done. Or, better still, if the trusts would take their employees into their combines and their confidences, and will, after paying themselves a reasonable dividend on the actual amount of capital stock invested and then agree to distribute a reasonable share of the profits among the skilled artisans whom they employ as a per cent, or profit

upon their wages, the trust would then be placed upon an honest, popular and reasonable foundation, and no one could be said to be unjust or oppressive.

I can see no reason why such an experiment might not be made by employers, nor can I see why it would not succeed. To do this would bring about harmony to a large degree between labor and capital, and would measurably, though not entirely, take the fangs out of the trust and the combine. This is one of the ways, and it seems to me to be the logical way, to settle this ever-existing controversy, and settle it right, because it would then be a just, and I may say enlightened co-operation, and you know that co-operation is the fundamental principle of a trust.

It is, in short, the very heart of it. The trouble, however, with the most of the trusts, as they are conducted, is that the "co-operation" is all one-sided—all in favor of the stockholders—while the skilled laborers and the consumers are wholly ignored. This seems to be the fundamental principle, the foundation, so to speak, on which the whole trust movement rests. Why, then, cannot its scope be widened so as to take in or embrace all the classes whose interests are involved? So long as the trust now stands, and so long as it is thus conducted, that long will it be antagonized by the masses, and it, therefore, cannot be enduring, nor can it result as a permanent, profitable business for the stockholders, or can it in any way benefit the mechanics or the people in general.

**Progress of the Age.**  
Mr. President, I do not wish to be understood as opposing modern methods of progress. I believe in conserving in every possible manner the waste of time and energy of the great mass of our people. The day of wooden plows and stage coaches and horseback mails have gone by forever. To keep abreast of the times in which we live we must use all modern discoveries and appliances. We must of necessity "keep in the push," or otherwise perish. All wise people will strive to reduce every possible waste of energy. The blacksmith shop and the wooden plow were good enough in their day. They answered the purpose then, but they are out of date now. Old methods have been steadily discarded and economical appliances operated by steam and electricity have been substituted therefore. The same is true in almost every business avocation peculiar to our people. The trust seems, on its face, to be a step forward in the ever-shifting drama of main purpose to save waste in production and distribution.

Every student in political economy will admit, in a measure, the force of this particular claim, because the greatest enemy to human progress is waste. While it may be true that a number of factories in a particular industry, which have been competing with one another in a particular line of production, agree to unite for a common purpose, consenting to not fight one another, and purposing to furnish a particular article of manufacture to the consumer at a specific price, of itself is not necessarily wrong. Indeed, it appears to be right on its face; but it may be wrong, forever wrong, and usually is wrong, as I stated it, for two particular reasons.

First—This combine can and will (if they are looking out for their own interests alone) increase the price of their product to the consumer, and at the same time reduce the wages of their employees; and, second, every small manufacturer engaged in that particular industry will either have to quit business or join "the combine." But the combine will doubtless say in reply that the small manufacturer can himself join the trust or keep on as he is then doing, if he likes. How can he continue his business successfully, if all of his competitors in the same line of production have combined him? They can, and will, for the purpose of "freeing him out," cut prices until he has to "squel and throw up the sponge," and then the combine has its own way and can fix its own prices, and it usually does so, and all of you who hear me know it, and know it well.

In cases of this sort the smaller dealer succumbs and the "combine" fixes its own prices and the people are compelled to submit.

**Wis Legislation.**  
Nevertheless I confess I am one of the people of this country who is not hysterical over this trust controversy. I am inclined to the opinion that it can and will be regulated by wise and proper legislation, and by public sentiment, which in the end will settle the matter. All political economists agree that the prevention of waste (unnecessary waste) by all nations is the secret of their growth and success. This proposition is unquestionably true, and I will therefore not undertake to controvert it.

A wise man will save every cent, even diminish every lump of coal, every particle of manure, everything that can be utilized to better his conditions and help him on in life. But it seems to me that no intelligent man will favor any measure which will place himself at the mercy of a few of his fellow citizens, who will have it in their power to say what he shall do or what he shall pay for that which necessity requires him to purchase.

I am aware of the fact, Mr. President, that the backers of trusts set up three distinct claims or arguments in their defense, viz., first, that they pay the highest rates of wages to their employees; second, that they furnish the best article to the consumer; and, third, that they furnish them lower or cheaper than they can otherwise be produced. While I admit that there is something in these claims, yet they are true only in a restricted sense. The first of these claims of this sort, I think, is absolutely true. Trusts pay high wages, because they employ none but high-grade men and women, which they can afford to do.

The second proposition is perhaps true in most cases, but by no means in all. The third claim is only true in a few instances. If I had the time to-day could definitely mention them to this Federation. But in the generally of cases prices to consumers increase instead of diminish where trusts are enforced. Therefore the few, and not the many are direct beneficiaries of these trust combines. Consequently, my countrymen, when one pauses and considers carefully all the facts involved, when he thoughtfully weighs both sides of the issue before him; when he seriously reflects, as it is the duty of every good citizen to do; when he sees the vast multitude of his fellow countrymen, who have fitted themselves by education and experience as "middle men" in the various avenues of life, necessarily thrown out of employment because of trusts; and when he goes further and thinks of the thousands and tens of thousands of his fellow countrymen of limited means, yet at the same time industrious, sober and enterprising, who sources, cope with the trusts and combines, and are necessarily forced to quit business, then the enormity of the wrong (not to say crime) of choking them out of an honest effort to support themselves and families can be fully understood and fully appreciated.

**Questions for Trusts.**  
If the advocates of and participants in the trusts could satisfy the minds of the masses upon the three following propositions they would then have but a limited opposition in the years to come.

First—Will you, and can you, in all cases, as you claim, agree to furnish a better and cheaper article to consumers than the necessity of life covered by your trusts and combines?

Second—What do you propose to do with the tens of thousands of middle men now employed, who of necessity must lose their present positions?

Third—What will become of the "small dealers" scattered over our country from Maine to Florida, and from the shores of the Atlantic to the sunset sea whose waves makes music in the golden sands of California? What are you going to do with this large class of our fellow citizens who are now prosperous and happy in their present occupations? These are momentous problems and involve momentous results.

I may be wrong, Mr. President, in my

conclusions; but it seems to me, as an unprejudiced, unbiased American citizen, whose only purpose is to do what he can to advance the interests of the great majority of all our people, that if the trust idea is to be carried out in this country there will be no use for "middle men" among us; and the small dealers and small manufacturers and small operators in any and all lines of business, who are now earning honest livings and support for themselves and those dependent upon them, will be things absolutely of the past. Like Othello, their "occupation will be gone."

And what of the other, and the greatest of all the considerations before us as non-partisan American citizens? Namely, will the trusts, can the trusts, dare the trusts, here agree to furnish the great living, helpless, and in many instances, hapless mass of our people, a better and a cheaper article which all of them must of necessity use, than they are now required to pay for the same? If the trust can do this I will call off my opposition, feeble as it is, and will join them and bid them God speed in their work. Otherwise, I stand against them, and desire that they will here and now class me as an enemy.

It is not my purpose or desire, fellow citizens, to block any avenue to the progress and development of my country; but it is my purpose and desire to do anything and everything that I can to prevent capital from overriding labor, and to do my utmost at all times and under all circumstances to aid the workingman to earn an honest livelihood for himself and those dependent upon him in the ever-existing scuffle between man and man to live and let live which has been going on from Adam down to McKinley.

### EXPORT EXPOSITION

At Philadelphia. Opened in an Unostentatious Manner.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 14.—With ceremonies unattended by ostentation the National Export Exposition was formally opened at noon to-day. Distinguished visitors from all sections of the country were in attendance, including representatives of the diplomatic corps, officers of the army and navy, scientists and business and professional men. After the benediction by Archbishop Ryan, which concluded the dedicatory exercises, a message was received from President McKinley extending greetings and officially opening the great exposition. When the message had been read the chorus of six hundred voices and the audience sang "The Star Spangled Banner," accompanied by the United States marine band and the big exposition organ.

The exposition grounds were opened to the public at 3 o'clock this morning, and long before noon thousands of people had passed through the gates. The dedicatory ceremonies were held in the immense auditorium, which was crowded to its capacity.

The first event of the day was the landing of Admiral Sampson and the officers of his squadron at Chestnut street pier. Carriages were in waiting, and the naval officers were driven to Mayor Ashbridge's office, where they met Governor Stone and his staff, the officers and directors of the National Export association, the officers and trustees of the Commercial museum, the officers and managers of the Franklin institute, various railway officials and about 100 other prominent men of Philadelphia and other cities.

Subsequently the company in the mayor's office re-entered the carriages and were conveyed to the exposition grounds, escorted by a platoon of mounted police and two hundred and fifty marines from the North Atlantic squadron.

Arriving at the grounds the distinguished guests were escorted to the platform in the auditorium. In the absence of P. A. B. Widener, president of the exposition, the first vice president, W. W. Foulkrod, delivered the address turning the exposition over to the governor of Pennsylvania. Director General W. P. Wilson delivered an address on the "Inception, purpose, plan and scope of the exposition."

"The purpose of this exposition," said Director Wilson, "is to show the foreign consumer what the American manufacturer can make, and how cheaply and how well he can make."

The governments of the whole world have been invited, and have accepted the invitation to send their delegates; the leading chambers of commerce of every country of the globe—organized bodies to which are entrusted the commercial affairs of their respective countries—have been invited, and have accepted the invitation.

Mayor Ashbridge accepted the exposition from the governor, and then Congressman H. P. Hepburn, of Iowa, chairman of the congressional committee on inter-state and foreign commerce, delivered the oration of the day.

The benediction was read by Archbishop Ryan, of this city, and at its conclusion President McKinley's message was read, and the National Export Exposition became a fact.

At the conclusion of the exercises the public, and the prominent guests inspected the buildings, grounds and exhibits.

### BURDENS ARE MANY.

Wheeling Citizens Have Their Share.

Burdens of life are many. Some people have more than their share.

Pretty hard to bear the burdens of a bad back.

Learn the cause and remove the burden. Most backache pains come from sick kidneys.

Must cure the kidneys to cure the back. Doan's Kidney Pills will do it. Lots of Wheeling proof that this is so.

Read what a citizen says: Mrs. Annie Murphy, of No. 2355 Wood street, says: "Kidney trouble started from a cold which settled in my kidneys. I paid little attention to it for some time, and it steadily grew worse until it got so bad that loads of medicine from different doctors and proprietary medicines did not help me. I had such severe pains in my kidneys and through the muscles of my back that it was often impossible for me to lie in bed, and I had to get up and sit in a chair. I saw Doan's Kidney Pills advertised, sent to the Logan Drug Company and got a box. I was astonished at the remarkable effect, for by the time I completed the treatment I was cured."

Doan's Kidney Pills are for sale by all dealers. Price, 50 cents or mailed by Foster-McLure Co., Buffalo, N. Y., sole agents for the United States. Remember the name—Doan's—and take no substitute.

### Ex-Ambassador Enstis Buried.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Sept. 13.—The remains of Hon. James B. Enstis, former ambassador to France, were laid to rest in Cave Hill to-day beside his wife. Brief funeral services were conducted at the grave by Rev. George Grant Smith, of Trinity Episcopal church.

### Infant Woman's Deed.

SEDALIA, Mo., Sept. 12.—Mrs. J. M. Williams saturated the clothing of herself and two-months-old babe with coal oil to-day and then set fire to the garments. She and the child were burned to death. She was of unsound mind.

### Volcanic Eruptions

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